150.5 — Algonquian

GUACANAGARI PONTIAC BLACK HAWK
MONTEZUMA CAPTAIN PIPE KEOKUK
GUATIMOTZIN LOGAN SACAGAWEA
POWHATAN CORNPLANTER BENITO JUAREZ
POCAHONTAS JOSEPH BRANT MANGUS
SAMOSET RED JACKET COLORADAS
MASSASOIT LITTLE TURTLE LITTLE CROW
KING PHILIP TECUMSEH SITTING BULL
UNCAS OSCEOLA CHIEF JOSEPH
TEDYUSKUNG SEQUOYA GERONIMO
SHABONEE

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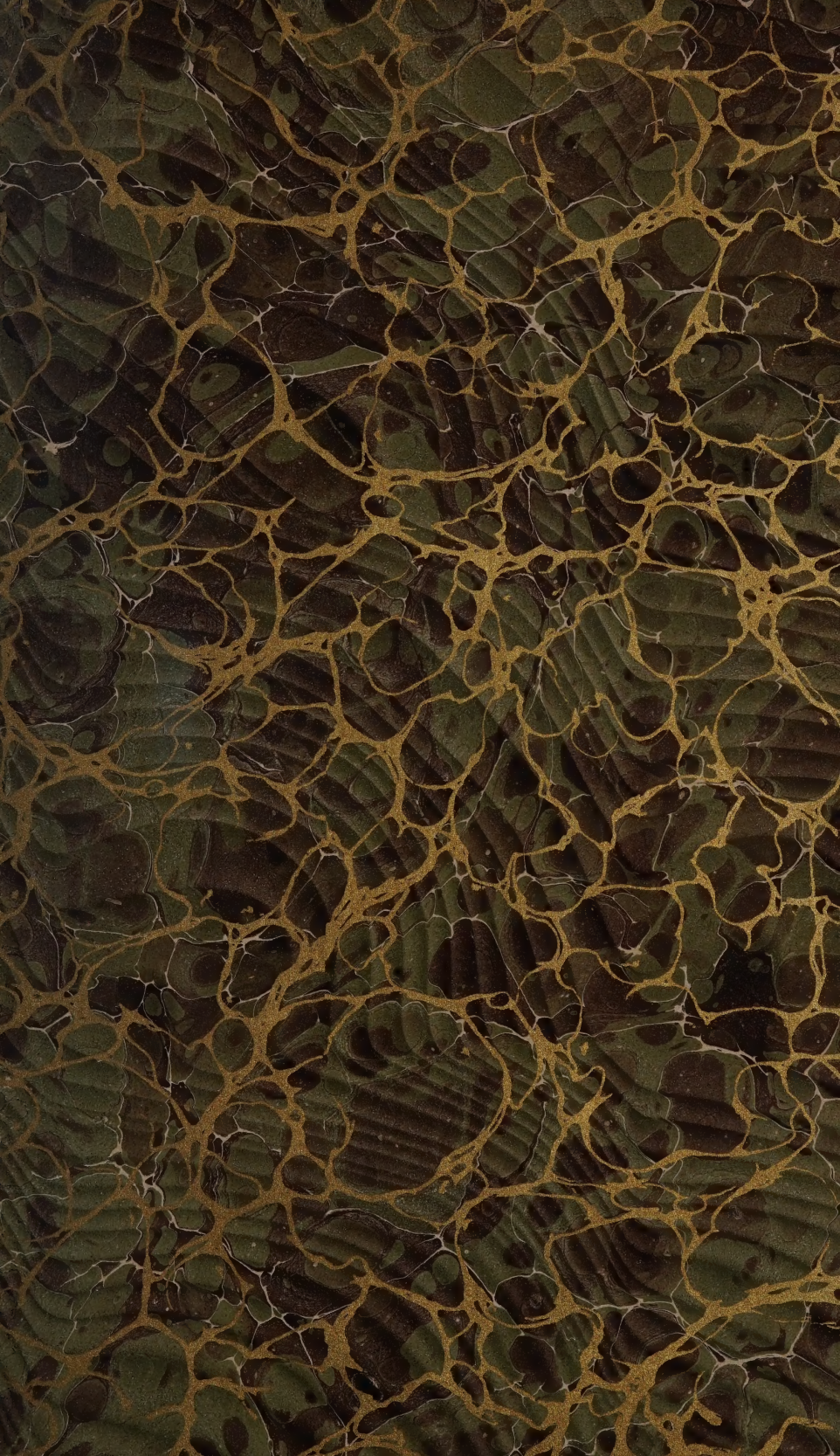

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ON SOME

MISTAKEN NOTIONS OF ALGONKIN GRAMMAR,

AND ON MISTRANSLATIONS OF WORDS FROM ELIOT'S BIBLE, &c.

By J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

John Eliot's version of the Bible in the language of the Indians of Massachusetts has been characterized as "a rich mine of Indian philology," from which "a complete grammar and valuable dictionary might, with labor and perseverance, be extracted."* Scholars like Pickering and Gallatin have now and then really worked a vein or two of this mine, with moderate success; but for every such one there have been fifty who were content to glean a few surface-specimens and spare themselves all trouble of assay or analysis. The richness of the mine considered, it is surprising that so much worthless ore has been brought out of it and that so much which was intrinsically good has been made worthless in the smelting process to which it was subjected to prepare it for filling the molds of comparative vocabularies, for bracing up an unsound hypothesis, or for pinning together some linguistic structure which was not quite strong enough to stand alone. If an Algonkin place-name is to be mis-interpreted, the mis-interpretation is usually made on the supposed authority of Eliot. When his version is referred to for the purpose

* Duponceau's Notes to Eliot's "Indian Grammar Begun," in Massachusetts Hist. Collections, 2d Ser., vol ix. p. ix.

of finding an Algonkin word corresponding to one in the English text, the chances are that an affix or formative is mistaken for the root.

There are few writers on American languages who have not somewhere been led into error by relying on statements made on the alleged authority of Eliot's Bible or of Zeisberger's Grammar of the Lenni Lenâpe (Delaware) language. It is not surprising that distinguished European philologists, who could consult these authorities only at second-hand, have been thus misled. They are excusable for adopting and giving currency to the false notions of Indian synthesis, the worthless etymologies, and the mis-translations, which had received the endorsement of American scholars of high repute and passed unquestioned from this side of the Atlantic.

I propose in the present paper to call attention to a few of these errors, and to show that some of the best accredited dicta concerning the Algonkin languages rest on very slight foundations — or have no foundation whatever. They may be divided in two classes, — as they belong to the *grammar*, or to the *vocabulary*. Of the former, I mention first, —

The alleged existence of a *definite article*, in certain Algonkin languages, especially in the Massachusetts and the Lenni Lenâpe.

Mr. Duponceau was the first to announce the discovery, in the Natick (Massachusetts) dialect, of "a part of speech which had not been noticed by grammarians in the Indian languages". In a note appended to Pickering's edition of Eliot's Indian Grammar Begun (1821), he wrote as follows: —

"It is remarkable, that this language appears to possess a definite article, although no mention is made of it in this Grammar. This article is *mo*, contracted from *monko*, and properly signifies *it*. . . . . This pronoun when used as an article is still further contracted into *m*, which, when followed by a consonant, Eliot connects with it by the English short *u*, according to his method, and sometimes by short *e*. Thus he writes *metah*, "the heart," which should be pronounced *m'tah*. It is evident, that the *m* stands here *for an article*, because the personal affixes 'my', 'thy', 'his', are *n*, *k*, and *w; nuttah* or *n'tah*, 'my heart', *kuttah* or *k'tah*, 'thy heart', *wuttah* or *w'tah*, 'his or her heart'. . . . In the translation of the Bible,

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this article frequently appears: *Kesteah pahke* METAH "Create in me a clean heart". Ps. li. 10. — *Pohqui kah tannogki* METAH "A broken and contrite heart." Ibid. 17. Several words are also found in his [Eliot's] Grammar, in which this article is prefixed, though not noticed as such. . . . . This article exists in several of the Indian languages," &c. (pp. xiv. xv.)

To this note was appended the copy of a letter received from Mr. Heckewelder, assuring Mr. Duponceau that "the article '*mo*' for 'a' or 'the', which he had discovered in the language of the Naticks *is the same* in the language of the Lenape."

In the translation of Zeisberger's Delaware Grammar, published in 1826, the statement that "there is an article in the Delaware language" is repeated; and reference is made (p. 36,) to the translator's discovery of this article "in the Massachusetts language."

Again, in the well known *Mémoire sur le Système Grammatical des Langues de quelques Nations Indiennes* (Paris, 1838), Mr. Duponceau asserts that "les langues Algonquines ont l'article. . . . Les grammairiens Eliot et Zeisberger ne l'ont pas même aperçu, c'est pourquoi ils n'en ont pas parlé"; but, "des Indianologues plus récens ont enfin découvert son existence", etc. (p. 148).

In Mr. Gallatin's "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes" (1836), Mr. Duponceau is credited with "the discovery of an article *mo;* as *m'hittuk* 'a tree' or 'the tree'," (p. 220) and allusion is made (p. 163) to "the initial *m* often prefixed to the noun in the Knisteneaux and the Chippeway" languages, as "seeming to corroborate the existence of a definite article *mo*, discovered by Mr. Duponceau in Eliot's translation of the Bible."

And so the definite article, — unknown to Eliot and Zeisberger, disbelieved in by "M. Heckewelder lui-même . . . . jusqu'à ce qu'il fût convaincu du contraire par les recherches des philologues", — took its established place among the parts of Algonkin speech.

Yet it may easily be shown that the *m'* prefixed to certain classes of Algonkin nouns is *not* a definite article, — that it does *not* stand for *mo*, — that *mo* is *not* a contraction of *monko*, — and that *monko* does *not* signify 'it', in Eliot's Bible or elsewhere.

Mô or *mo* is put by Eliot (Ind. Grammar, 21) among "adverbs of denying", "sometimes signifying *not*". Thus he writes *mo teag* and *mo"teag* 'nothing' (Isaiah xl. 17; xli. 17): *mo teag ohtóöu* 'he hath nothing' (Prov. xiii. 4), and *mo teaguas ohtóöu* (Prov. xx. 4). But he more frequently uses this particle as the *sign of the preterit*, to denote completed and terminated action or being, — that which *was* and *is not*, — or as a substitute for the past tense of the substantive verb. It has this meaning in the verses cited from Eliot's version by Mr. Duponceau, and in many others. *'Nnih* or *unnih* means 'it is so', and *mo nnih* (Genesis i. 15) 'it *was* so'; *wunnegen* 'it is good' (Ps. lii. 9), and *mo ahche wunnegen* 'it *was* very good' (Gen. i. 31); *na mœ pharisaë wosketomp* 'there *was* a Pharisee man' (John iii. 1), and *matta mo wosketomp* 'there *was* not a man', literally, 'not was man' (Gen. ii. 5); *wequai* [there is] 'light', and *mô wequai* 'there was light' (Gen. i. 3), *ne mo wequai* 'that *was* [the] light' (John i. 9); *ken mo wut tinneumin* 'thou wast a servant' (Deut. v. 17); *na mo kesukod* 'there was a day' (Matt. viii. 26). In a very few instances — nearly all of which occur in the first chapter of Genesis, at the beginning of Eliot's work of translation — he employed the questionable synthesis *mónkô nnih* for 'it was so' (vv. 7, 9, 11, 24, 30): *mónkô* having been formed, apparently, from *mô* and *kô*, to signify 'was and continues to be'.*

Mr. Duponceau having mistaken the sign of the past tense for a *pronoun* transformed the supposed pronoun into a *definite article*. But the office of the prefixed *m'* (as in Mass. *m'tah* 'heart') was just the reverse of that of a definite article. Primarily a negative or a privative — always undefinitive — it was used not with all nouns but with a few only, — with the names of the body and its members, of articles belonging to or generally associated with the person, of terms expressing rela-

* The particle *kó* or *koh* denotes continuance or progression. As an auxiliary, it refers to a past time action or being not yet completed or terminated, — when what *now is* 'began to be' or 'once was' — or affirms *present* as related to *prior* action or being. Eliot occasionally employs it for the verb substantive, as in Job xiv. 10, *kah uttoh kó wutapin?* 'and where *is* he'; *noh koh mô, noh koh, kah noh paont* 'who *was*, and *is*, and is to come' (Rev. iv. 8); and *ken nukoh* [= *noh koh*], *kah ken nukoh mô, kah ken paóan*, 'thou who wast, and art, and art to come' (Rev. xi. 17).

tionship, and some others: and it served to divest these of all personal and individual relation or appropriation. For example, when an Indian spoke of 'body' or 'person' he usually employed a possessive pronominal prefix, — '*my* body', '*thy* body', '*his* body' (Mass. *n'hog*, *k'hog*, *w'hog*): but if he found it necessary to speak of 'body' or 'heart' in the abstract, or divested of its natural associations, he substituted for the possessive and personal the *negative* and *impersonal* prefix, *m'*. *M'hog* (*mŭhhog*, Eliot,) denotes 'body *not* mine, yours or his' — *some* body, regarded as without appropriation or personal relation: *m'tay* (*mĕtah*, El., *mtee*, Zeisberger,) 'heart', *not* my heart (*n'tay*), nor yours (*k'tay*), &c.*

Another modern discovery in Algonkin grammar was that of a *vocative case* of nouns. Eliot had stated (in his Indian Grammar Begun, p. 8) that nouns in the Massachusetts language are "not varied by cases, cadencies and endings," — except that "there seemeth to be one cadency or case" of *animate* nouns, corresponding to the Latin accusative. But Zeisberger found terminations in the Delaware which "express the vocative". He gave several examples of these in his Grammar of that language (p. 37), and Mr. Duponceau, in his Notes to Eliot's Grammar (p. xiv), pointed out "different terminations of the same word, in various parts of Eliot's translation of the Bible", — of which "the termination *in* in the vocative singular and *unk* in the vocative plural" could not, he thought, be accounted for consistently with Eliot's "positive statement that substantives are not distinguished by cases." He cited Zeisberger's authority for the fact that "the Delaware has a vocative case, which generally ends in *an*." Mr. Gallatin (Synopsis, p. 173) repeats: "There is a vocative case in some at least of the Algonkin-Lenape languages, terminating, in the singular of the Delaware, in *an*, and of the

* Howse (Cree Grammar, p. 245) has pointed out the mistake of "some writers who have considered the element of *me-* (and *w-* or *we-*) prefixed to certain nouns, as equivalent to the European Article." This element, he says, is found in the Cree "only in the names of the body and its parts, . . . in those expressing relationship, as *ne-gáuwee* 'my mother', *me-gáuwee* 'a mother' &c., — with a very few others."

Massachusetts in *in;* in the plural Delaware, in *enk*, "when coupled with the pronoun *our*." (Zeisberger, p. 99.) The same termination *eunk* is used generally for the second person plural in the Massachusetts." Dr. Pickering in his paper on "Indian Languages," in the Encyclopædia Americana, adopted Zeisberger's statement that "in the Delaware, in two cases, the vocative and ablative, there is an inflection," — the former being "expressed by the termination *an*", &c. On so excellent authority the Delaware vocative in *an* and the Massachusetts vocative in *in* and *eunk* have been received, without question, into the Algonkin grammatical system.

Without affirming or denying the existence of a vocative form in some Algonkin languages, but considering only the evidence on which it has been engrafted on the dialects of Massachusetts and Delaware, — I assert that Eliot's Bible will be searched in vain for a vocative singular in *in* or for a "termination *eunk* used generally for the second plural plural", and that among the examples given by Zeisberger there is not one of a noun in the vocative case ending in *an* or *enk*, but that all these examples are verbs or participles of the suffix-animate form or, as Heckewelder (in his Correspondence with Duponceau, p. 416) termed it, the "participial-pronominal-vocative form." The supposed Delaware vocative in *an* is a verb in the conditional (subjunctive) mood, 2d pers. singular of the subject with 1st pers. singular of the object, and the form is nearly the same in the Massachusetts language as in the Delaware. Zeisberger's "*Nihillalian*, O thou my Lord!" is, literally translated, 'Thou who ownest (or, art master of) me', i. e. 'Thou *as owning* me'; "*Pemauchsohalian*, O my Saviour!" is 'Thou *as giving life to* me', &c.* Eliot has *nœwaan* 'thou that sayest' (thou *as saying*), and *mâskowáan* 'thou that makest thy boast of', Rom. ii. 23; *ken wadohkean* 'thou that dwellest', Ps. lxxx. 1, &c. The supposed vocative in *-enk*, in the Delaware, is the 2d person singular of the subject with the 1st person plural of the object; "*Nihillaliyenk*, O thou our Lord!" (Zeisb. Gram. 116) is 'Thou who ownest

* Howse, Cree Grammar, pp. 310, 311, has shown that Zeisberger's vocatives "have verbal endings" and are all "in the Subjunctive or Subordinate mood."

(or, *as owning*) us.'* When the subject is *plural*, and the object in the 3d person or the verb intransitive, Eliot uses a participle or verbal formed from the second person plural of the subjunctive by adding *-ish:* e. g. *kenaau wonkanógish ahtomp* 'ye that bend the bow', Jerem. l. 29; *kenaau quoshógish* 'ye that fear', Ps. cxv. 11; *kenaau kókobsoógish* 'ye deaf' (i. e. ye as not-hearing), *kenaau pogkenumógish* 'ye blind', Is. xlii. 18. But this form is not distinctively vocative, for it is found with the pronoun of the first person, as in I. Thess. iv. 15, 17, *nēnawun pamontamágish kah apeágish* 'we which are alive and remain', and Hebr. iv. 3, *nenawun wanamptamagish* 'we who believe.'

In his search for vocatives in the Massachusetts language, Mr. Duponceau was "surprised to find different terminations of the same word, in various parts of Eliot's translation of the Bible", some of which he was at a loss how to explain, "otherwise than by the conjecture that our author might have had recourse to different Indian dialects in translating." (Notes on Eliot's Grammar, xiv.) He gave the following examples:—

*Wuttaun*oh Zion, 'Daughter of Zion'. Lament. ii. 8. *Woi Jerusalemme wuttaun*in, 'O daughter of Jerusalem', v. 13.

Woi kenaau Jerusalemme wuttaun eunk, 'O ye daughters of Jerusalem', Solom. Song, ii. 7.

Kah ompetak wuttôneu, 'And she bare a daughter',—as Mr. Duponceau translated it, but which in the verse cited (Gen. xxx. 21) stands for the words "and *afterwards* she bare a daughter". He mistook the adverb *ompetak* 'afterwards' for a verb meaning 'to bear', and *wuttôneu* (misprinted, *wuttaneu*)—a verb in the 3d pers. sing. indicative present (aorist), meaning 'she bare a daughter', for a noun; remarking that the termination "*eu* in the accusative governed

* When Duponceau wrote his *Mémoire sur le Système Grammatical* &c., published in 1838, he had learned that the terminations which Zeisberger regarded as belonging to the vocative were verbal forms; but he was still persuaded that the words receiving these forms were *nouns* not *verbs*. "Au lieu du vocatif"—he says (*Mémoire*, p. 159)—on emploie une forme verbale *qu'on applique au nom substantif;* elle varie selon les nombres. Ces formes, qu'il est inutile de préciser davantage, tiennent la place du verbe être: ainsi, lorsqu'on dit: *Ô mon dieu!* c'est comme si on disait: O toi *qui es* mon dieu!" &c.

by an active verb" "cannot be accounted for",—which is quite true.

Of the three forms *Wuttaunoh*, *Wuttaunin*, and *Wuttauneunk*, he remarked that "the first is correct." So it is,—but not for the reason he assigns, that "it is a proper nominative of this word." If it were a nominative, it would stand in apposition with *Zion*, and the translation must be 'his (or her) daughter Zion.' But the termination *-oh*, with the pronominal prefix *wu'*, marks the governing noun (as in the Hebrew *construct form*),—'the daughter of.'

Wuttaun-in is a proper nominative, its termination marking it as a noun-animate *indefinite*, 'a daughter' or 'any daughter.' That this termination *-in* is not "in the vocative singular" may be shown by reference to other verses in which the same form of the word occurs,—as a nominative, in Micah vii. 6, *wuttaunin ayeuhkonittué ohkasoh* 'the daughter, against her mother', and in Numbers, xxxvi. 8, *nishnoh wuttaunin noh ahtunk ohtôonk* 'every daughter that possesseth an inheritance',—and after a governing preposition, Levit. xii. 6, *wutch wunnaumonâ'in asuh wuttaunin* 'for a son or a daughter.'

The termination of *Wuttauneunk*,—"*unk* in the vocative plural", as Mr. Duponceau regarded it,—is that of a *collective noun*, without reference to case or person. *Wuttaun eünk*, in the verse cited, means 'the daughters' collectively, *the daughterhood;* so, in Judges xxi. 21, we find *Shiloe wuttauneunk* 'the daughters of Shiloh', the Shiloh daughterhood. Nouns of this form are of frequent occurrence in Eliot's version. Thus we have *wómonœk œweemattinneunk* 'love ye the *brotherhood*', I. Peter, ii. 17; *wutœshinneunk* 'the fathers' or the *fatherhood*, Numb. xxxi. 26; I. John, ii. 13; *wunnaumonainneunk* 'the children' collectively, Luke, xvi. 8.*

We are now in a position to sum up the evidence on which

* Molina (History of Chili, American translation, vol. ii. p. 303) mentions similar nouns collective in the Araucanian language, and classes them with abstract terms formed by adding *gen* (representing the verb 'to be') to adjectives or verbs. Thus, "instead of saying *pu Huinca* 'the Spaniards', they commonly say, *Huincagen* 'the Spaniolity',—*tamén cuiagèn* 'your trio', that is, you other three," &c. See Pickering's notes on Edwards's Observations &c., in Mass. Hist. Coll., 2d S., x. 120.

philologists have agreed to recognize a vocative case-ending of nouns in the Massachusetts language. We have only Mr. Duponceau's misinterpretation of two words employed by Eliot. He mistook the termination of a noun indefinite for that of the vocative singular, and made a vocative plural out of a noun collective.

The fact that no Algonkin language has an independent verb-substantive — a fact denied by Cass and Schoolcraft, and which has been questioned by many writers on American languages, — may now be regarded as established. Much of the discussion on this subject has turned on the precise meaning of the phrase by which Eliot translated "I am that I am", in Exodus, iii. 14, — *Nen nuttinniin nen nuttinniin.*

Heckewelder, in reply to a question from Duponceau, could only say that this "could never be a literal translation of the text," and that "if it means anything, it must be *either* "I am a man, I am a man," *or* "I do so, I do so." Duponceau, "after much consideration and study of the subject, inclined to the opinion that Mr. Heckewelder is right in his last conjecture" (Notes on Eliot's Grammar, xlii.); and in his Mémoire (p. 195) he unhesitatingly accepts this translation, as deciding the question of the existence of the verb 'to be' in Algonkin languages. "On a trouvé" — he writes, — "le moyen de la décider d'une manière qui ne laisse plus de doute. On a cherché dans la Bible indienne d'Eliot, la traduction du célèbre passage: *ego sum qui sum* (Exod. iii. 14), et on a trouvé *nen nuttinniin nen nuttinniin;* on a cherché aussi dans le même livre, la traduction du passage *ego* [sum] *sicut vos*, dans l'épître de saint Paul aux Galates, ch. iv., v. 12, et on a trouvé *nen neyane kenaau;* on a envoyé ces deux passages ainsi traduits aux missionnaires les plus instruits dans les langues Algonquines, et ils ont trouvé que le premier signifiat: *je fais, je fais;* et le second: *nous nous ressemblons* ou *je vous ressemble.*"

Duponceau's dictum — founded, as we have seen, on a guess of Heckewelder's — was authoritative. Since the publication of the *Mémoire*, "I do, I do," has been the accepted translation of Eliot's *nen nuttinniin nen nuttinniin*, — and has been

pointed to as a proof of the poverty of American languages.* No one apparently has taken the trouble to re-examine the text or to analyze the synthesis Eliot employed, — though this might easily have been done without other help than his version of the Bible itself affords.

To supply the want of a verb-substantive every Algonkin dialect has several verbs to express the *where* and the *how* of being, — modal and conditioned existence. Those which most frequently occur in Eliot's version are, —

1. *Ohteau* 'it has itself', the intransitive form of *ohtau*, 'he has', 'owns', 'possesses'. Used only when the subject is inanimate: e. g., *ayeuonk ohteau* 'the place is', Judg. xviii. 12; *pish ohteau* 'it will be', Gen. xvii. 13; suppositive or conjunctive, *ohtag*, 'if (or, when) it is', Matt. v. 14. Chippeway, "*até*, there is of it; it is" (Baraga); "*atta*, to be" (Schoolcraft).

2. *Appu* (Chip. *abi*, Baraga; Cree, *apú*, *abú*, Howse;) 'he sits', 'is at rest', — hence 'he remains', 'abides'; and so, 'he is' or 'continues to be' — in a state of rest or inactivity is implied. With an adverb of place, *wutappin*; as *na wutappin* 'he sat down there', Ruth, iv. 1, 'he *was* there', John, v. 5; *yeu wutappin* 'he is here', John, vi. 9; *toh kutappin?* 'where art thou?' Gen. iii. 9.

3. *Ayeu* (Chip. *ahyah*, Jones; *iau* 'he is', Schoolcraft — who has given a paradigm of it, as the Chip. verb 'to be',) 'he is *in some place*' designated; 'he is *there*', John, xi. 30; hence, 'he dwells' or 'inhabits'. *Noh ayeu kah appu* 'he dwells and abides', Job, xxxix. 28: imperfect, *nut-aï-up* 'I was there', Acts, xi. 5: conjunctive, *âyit*, *aiyit* (Chip. *ahyod*, Jones), *noh âyit machemotagit* 'he that inhabiteth (i. e. *as inhabiting*) eternity', Is. lvii. 15. The 2d person conjunctive (*âyean*, Eliot,) of this verb is found in various Algonkin versions of the Lord's prayer; "who art in Heaven", Moheg. *ne spummuck oieon* (Edwards); Old Abnaki, *spemkik aiian;* Old Passamaquoddy, *spemkik éhine* (Vetromile, from Rasles?), Ma-

* Mr. Farrar introduces it (Chapters on Language, p. 54), to illustrate of the "primordial and unbroken barbarism of the North American Indians", etc., — and again, in his Lectures on Families of Speech, p. 183, to show the "almost imbecile deficiency of abstraction," which characterizes American languages.

reschit, — *eyane* (Ib.); Chip. *ishpimingk eaiŭn* (Testament), &c. Eliot's version *omits* the verb; "Our Father in Heaven."

4. *'Nnih*, *Unnih*, 'it is so' or (aorist) 'it was so', Gen. i. 7, 9, 15. Eliot uses this word for the phrase 'it came to pass' or 'comes to pass'. Imperat. 3d pers. sing., *ne naj*, *ne natch*, 'be it so.'

5. *Neane*, *Neyane*, 'it is like' or 'the same as'; as in the passage cited by Mr. Duponceau, Galatians, iv. 12, *nen neyane kenaau* 'I [am] as ye [are]'. The imperative 2d pers. plural (with 1st person sing. object) and the adverbial form are found in the same verse: *unniyegk neyanië* 'be ye as I [am]'. The conjunctive participle *neâunak* (or *-nag*) used as a noun, 'that which is like' or 'being like', stands for 'likeness', 'appearance', 'color', 'fashion' of, &c.: *neâunag yeu muttaok* 'the fashion of this world', I. Cor. vii. 31.

6. *Wuttinniin* 'he is *of the kind of*' or 'is *such as*'. This verb cannot be exactly translated in English. It expresses the relation of an individual to a species or a class, the *appropriation* of its subject to an object expressed or understood, a *belonging-to*, — not merely external likeness or relation. It is conjugated in the present indicative as follows:

nuttinniin, I am of the kind of, I am such as,
kuttinniin, Thou art of the kind of, — such as,
wuttinniin, He is of the kind of, — such as.

It occurs not unfrequently in Eliot's version; e. g., Prov. xxiii. 7, *neâne unnantog ut wuttahhut*, *ne wuttiniin* 'as he thinketh in his-heart so is he', i. e., of that kind is he; I. Sam. xxvii. 11, *ne pish wuttinniin* 'so will be his manner', i. e., that will he-be-of-the-kind-of; and Is. xxiv. 2, *neaniit wuttinneumin*, *ne wuttinniin wussontimomun* 'as with the servant, so [of that kind is] his master.' In Exodus, iii. 14, *nen nuttiniin nen nuttinniin* means, literally, 'I myself am of the kind of I myself am of the kind of' or 'I am such as I am such as' — *Ego sum talis qualis ego sum*, for the "Ego qui sum" of the Vulgate and the "I am that I am" of the English text. Marked emphasis is given to the pronoun of the first person by using both its forms (independent and prefixed) with each verb, — *nen n'-*, 'ego ipse'.

In the first edition of Eliot's Bible (1663), *ne* 'that' stands in the place of the second *nen*. This was corrected on revision, because *ne*, the inanimate demonstrative, cannot properly be employed to denote the subject or object of a verb animate.

The very general use of *transitional* forms of conjugation, in which the pronoun of the object as well as of the subject is combined with the verb, has led some distinguished writers on American languages to infer that the Indian verb cannot be divested of its pronominal suffix. Edwards (Observations on the Muhhekaneew Language, p. 13) states, that the Mohegans "never use a verb transitive without expressing both the agent and the object, correspondent to the nominative and accusative cases in Latin. Thus they cannot say, 'I love', 'thou givest', &c. But they can say, 'I love thee', 'thou givest him', &c. viz. *Nduhwhunuw* 'I love him or her'; *nduhwhuntamin* 'I love it,' &c. Mr. Cass, in an article on the Indian Languages, in the North American Review (for January, 1826; vol. xxii. p. 80) made a similar statement; "The pronouns, actor and subject, are associated with the verb. One is prefixed, and the other is suffixed; and the latter is generally inseparable in its form. The active verbs cannot be used without this personal association. An Indian cannot say *I love*, *I hate*, *I fear*, abstracted from the operation of the verb upon the object." Mr. Bancroft repeats this, substantially, in his observations on the synthetic character of the American languages (Hist. of the U. States, vol. iii., 12th ed., p. 261): "An Algonkin cannot say *I love*, *I hate;* he must also, and simultaneously, express the object of the love or hatred. . . . Each active verb includes in one and the same word one pronoun representing its subject, and another representing its object also."

Dr. Edwards was wrong — as the very examples he used for illustration show: but his error is less apparent because it is restricted to a denial of the use, by the Stockbridge Mohegans, of *transitive* verbs without a pronoun-objective. Mr. Cass's denial extends to all *active* verbs and to all Algonkin languages. Nothing can be farther from the fact. There is no Algonkin dialect in which an Indian may not say 'I love' or

'I hate', without denoting by a pronominal suffix the object loved or hated. He has for this the choice of three or four verbs; (1) strictly intransitive, affirming the existence of affection, 'I am in love' or 'I feel lovingly'; (2) animate-active intransitive (the adjective-verb form, as some grammarians term it)—affirming the exercise of affection,—'I am loving' or 'I am a lover'; (3) active-transitive absolute,—the forms of which vary (but *not by a pronominal suffix*) as the implied object of affection belongs to one or the other of the two great classes of Indian nouns, animate and inanimate, the former class including not only all living beings but many *inanimate* objects held in special regard by the Indians. These forms serve, respectively, for the affirmations 'I love some person, animal or object of the class animate' (a bow, a kettle, or tobacco, it may be,) or 'I love something' not of that class. Either may receive in addition to the formative proper a pronominal suffix,—but each is complete without it.

It is true that a savage's conception of 'love', subjective or objective, differs from that of a Christian, and missionaries by whom the Algonkin languages have one after another been reduced to writing have not all agreed in the selection of the word which comes nearest to the meaning of the English verb *to love* or the French *aimer*. Eliot in Massachusetts and Roger Williams in Narragansett employed a verb the precise meaning of whose root (*wôm*, *waum*) is not ascertained. The Roman Catholic missionaries have generally adopted another, more common among the northern and western Algonkins, from the root *sâg*, *saug*, 'to cling' or 'hold fast'. With this explanation, the following examples are enough to show how 'I love' may be expressed in the principal languages of this family:

Massachusetts: *nœ-womantam*, v. i., 'I love; am love-minded.' To verbs of this form, "expressing a disposition, situation, or operation of the mind", Zeisberger assigns a special conjugation (the third) in his Delaware Grammar (pp. 50, 89). In the Chippeway, they end in *-endam* (Baraga, p. 154). Examples may be found on almost every page of Eliot's version; e. g. *musquantam* 'he is angry', literally 'bloody-

minded'; *nut-jishantam* 'I hate', 'I feel hatred or abhorrence'; *nœ-wabesuontam* 'I fear'; *nut-chepshontam* 'I am frightened', &c. All these verbs may be used, with the appropriate suffix, as transitive *inanimate*, 'he loves *it*', 'he hates *it*,' &c.

Chippeway: *nin ságia* (Baraga), *ne saugeau* 'I love a person' (Schoolcraft),—but Baraga, more exactly, translates 'I love him, her, or it', remarking that, in this form, "the object upon which acts the subject of these verbs, is always contained in the verb itself." (Otchipwe Grammar, 200.) With the pronoun: *o ságian* (Bar.), *oo záhgeahn* (Jones), 'he loves him'.

Cree: *ne-sâkehewán* 'I love some one' (indeterminate); *ne sâkechegan* 'I love something' (indefinite); *ne-sâkehewáywissin* (adj.-verb, active-intransitive) 'I am loving' or, as Howse analyzes it, "I am love-someone-ing". Cree Grammar, 105, 114.

Northern Algonkin of Canada: *ni sakidjike* 'I love'. This form is "sans régime, exprimant un sentiment"; *ne sakiton* means 'I love it'; *ni sakiha*, 'I love him'.*

Micmac: "*kejalœei*, j'aime," is placed by Maillard (Gram. Mikmaque, p. 56) among verbs "qui ne reçoivent aucun régime dans leur acception",—"verbes sans régime".

Passing now to the consideration of another class of errors,—those which concern the *vocabulary*, including mistranslations, false analyses, and mistakes in the identification of words in Eliot's version corresponding to those in the English text,—our first example shall be taken from that "immense monument of historical research," the *Mithridates* of Adelung and Vater. In the third part of this work Professor Vater gave (3te Abth., p. 388) a list of words in the language of the "Naticks, from Eliot". One of these words is "*Chequikompuh*", standing as the Natick name of the 'Sun'. Balbi, borrowing these words from the *Mithridates* reproduced them in his *Atlas Ethnographique* (Tab. xli.), where *Chequikompuh* appears as "Massachusetts or Natick" for 'Sun'. Now the Massachusetts name of the Sun—*nepáuz* (Narr. *nippâwus*, R. Williams,) occurs at least a hundred times in Eliot's version. In Joshua,

* Études philologiques sur quelques Langues Sauvages de l'Amérique (Montreal, 1866), pp. 50, 55, 60.

x. 13, for the words: "the sun stood still", of the English text, we have "*nepáuz chequnikompau.*" Mistaking the order of the words, Prof. Vater sets the (mutilated) *verb* instead of the *noun* against the word '*Sonne*' of his vocabulary.

In the same volume of *Mithridates* (2te Abth., p. 349), the learned author notes the resemblance of "*cone*", as a New England word for 'Sun', to the Tatar *kun.* Unfortunately, *cone* (as Roger Williams wrote it; *kœn* of Eliot and Cotton) means '*snow*', not 'sun'. The same error is found in an earlier work of Vater's, (*Untersuchungen über Amerika's Bevölkerung*, Leipzig, 1810, p. 51), whence more than one comparative philologist has taken it as evidence of the relationship of American and Asiatic languages.

A similar mistake was made by Mr. Duponceau, in a list of words "selected from Eliot's translation of the Bible," and incorporated by Dr. Pickering with the verbal index to his edition of Eliot's Indian Grammar Begun.* Among these we find *Sohsúmóonk*, as the Massachusetts word for "Forest." Eliot's version has for 'forest', *touohkomuk*, (literally, 'desert place', 'wilderness',) from which was formed the adjective *touohkomukque*. *Sohsúmóonk*, a verbal from *sohsumœ* 'it shines forth', was employed for the translation of the word 'glory',—literally, 'a forth-shining'. In Isaiah, x. 18, for 'the glory of his forest' we find *wut-touohkomukque sohsúmóonk* 'his forest glory', the English order of words being inverted, in accordance with the laws of Algonkin synthesis. Hence, doubtless, Mr. Duponceau's mistake.

Of all explorers of Eliot's 'rich mine' Mr. Schoolcraft was perhaps least successful. In the first volume of his *magnum opus*, "Information respecting the History &c. of the Indian Tribes," he gave (pp. 288–299) a vocabulary of nearly 300 words "extracted from Eliot's translation." How the extraction was effected, and what is the real value of the vocabulary as a contribution to comparative philology, a few specimens will show.

The first word is *Manitoo*, for 'God', with a reference to Gen. xxiv. 26 (by misprint probably, for 27). This should

* Massachusetts Historical Collections, 2d Series, vol. ix. p. liii.

be *Manit*, and should have been accompanied by the remark that it was not usually employed by Eliot as a name of the Supreme Being. Mr. Schoolcraft was wrong in saying (p. 287) that in Eliot's version "the words God and Jehovah appear as synonymes of *Manito*" or *Manit*. Those names were generally — 'Jehovah' was *always* transferred to the Indian text; not translated by *Manit*. The form *Manito* (or *-tœ*) combines with the noun the representative of the verb-substantive, and means '*Manit* is'. The plural, *manittœog* (or *-tóog*), is used for 'gods' of the English version; as in I. Cor. viii. 5, *manitœog monaog* 'gods many.'

"12. Husband, *Munúmayenok*", — for which Gen. xxx. 15 is cited. In that verse, *keneemunúmayeuonk nahsuk* stands for "thou hast taken away my husband". Mr. Schoolcraft mistook the verb for the noun; and rejecting the pronominal prefix — and something more, for *nee* belongs to the root, — he made, by help of a misprint, *munúmayenok!*

"13. *Nunaumonittumwos*. Wife. Job, xxxi. 10." For 'wife' Eliot has *mittamwussis* or *mittamwas*. *Nun-naumon* is 'my son', which Mr. Schoolcraft somehow contrived to mix up with *nummittamwos*, 'my wife', in the verse cited.

"47. *Kon*, Bone." The references are to Job, xxx. 30, xxxi. 22. In the former verse, *nuskonash* stands for 'my bones'; in the latter, *wutch wuskonit* for 'from its bone.' The root *uskon* 'bone' cannot be used without a prefix; *nuskon* 'my bone', *wuskon* 'his bone', or (indefinite) *muskon* 'any bone'. There is no such word as *Kon*.

"77. *Noonshoonum*, Boat. Acts, xvii. 16," — an error for Acts, xxvii. 16, where *nœmshœnun* — a verb in the first person plural (with its prefix) — means, "we came by boat". The noun *m'shœn* (*mushœn*, *mishœn*) 'a boat' is used in John vi. 22, Acts, xxvii. 30, &c.

"79. *Omoquash*, Sail. Acts, xvii. 17," — another misprint, for Acts, xxvii. 17, — where *pungwômuhquash* 'quicksands' happens to stand next to *nœkakinnumwog* 'they strake sail' (lit. 'they let it down'). The word for 'sail' is *sepághunk* 'that which is stretched out.'

"81. *Hunkaueehtaeaug*, Oar. Ezek. xxvii. 6." The man-

gled remains of *wuttuhhunkanéhteaog*, 'they made thy oars',—a causative verb formed from *wuttuhhunk* 'oar' or 'paddle'.

"172. *Taskookau*, Thistle." No reference is given; but as *taskuhkau* is the 3d pers. sing. indic. present, of a verb meaning 'to tread upon', and as in 2 Chron. xxv. 18, *taskuhkauau kôgkóunogkohquohhouoh* stands for "he trode down *the thistle*", we may infer that Mr. Schoolcraft again mistook verb for noun.

"225. *Nunneem*, Pigeon. Levit. xv. 6." The word 'pigeon' (Mass. *wuskuhwhan*) does not occur in the verse cited, but it may be found in vv. 14 and 29 of the same chapter, as the object of the trans. anim. verb *neemunau* 'he takes'. This verb also occurs in v. 6 of ch. xiv. in the form *wunnemunoh* ('he takes it'). "*Nunneem*" is, I suspect, a misprint for *Wunneem* — the first two syllables of *wunneemunoh*.

And so on, — through the whole vocabulary. Prefixed to it are some observations on the "Massachusetts Indians" and their language, in which we find a curious mistake, — unsurpassed by any in the vocabulary itself. The language of Eliot's version is said (p. 287) to be "a well characterized dialect of the Algonkin", but Eliot found in it, "it appears, no term for the verb *to love*, and introduced the word '*womon*' as an equivalent, adding the Indian suffixes and inflexions, for person, number, and tense."

Mr. Schoolcraft ought to have known that this word was not of Eliot's invention or introduction. The intransitive, *womantam* 'he loves', the animate-active intrans. (or adjective, verb) *womoausu* 'he is loving' or 'a lover', and the trans. animate *womonau* 'he loves (some one)', with their derivatives, are much used in Eliot's version; but forms from the same root may be found in Roger Williams's Indian 'Key', printed in 1643, twenty years earlier: e. g., *waumaûsu* 'loving' (p. 140); *cowàmmaunsh* [in Eliot's orthography, *kœ-womon-sh*] 'I love you'; *cowammaûnuck* 'he loves you'; *cowámmaus* 'you are loving' (p. 8), &c. Earlier yet, in Wood's rude "Nomenclator" (appended to *New England's Prospect*, 1634), we have "*wawmauseu*, an honest man" (for 'a kindly disposed' or a 'loving' man), and "*noewammawause*, I love you.'

This story of Eliot's manufacture of an Indian verb 'to love' from the English word 'woman' will always find believers. It belongs to the same class with that of the mistake made in the translation of Judges, v. 28, "The mother of Sisera looked out at a window and cried through the lattice", — where, it is said, for 'lattice' Eliot used an Indian word which really means 'eel-pot'. This story has been printed scores of times, — and will continue to be printed, for it is 'too good to be lost'. There are only two exceptions to be taken to it: (1) that the Indian eel-pot was of 'lattice work' and that its name would not be a *mis*translation of 'lattice,' though hardly a *sufficient* translation; and (2) that in the verse in question Eliot *did not translate the word* 'lattice' *at all*, but transferred it from the English to the Indian text, adding only the locative suffix: "*papâshpe lattice-ut*, through the lattice."

Eliot's work has not been appreciated, even by scholars, as highly as it deserves to be. Mr. Howse — the author of a valuable "Grammar of the Cree Language" (London, 1844,) — remarks in his Introduction, that "from the circumstance of Eliot's having translated the Bible into the language of the Massachusetts Indians, or rather *from his being the reputed translator*, (*which is a very different thing*,) it has been *erroneously supposed* that he was thoroughly versed in their language:" Mr. Howse was "much inclined to think, however, that grammatically considered, it is an imperfect performance," and that, "if *correct*, it was formed only by the assistance of a half-breed interpreter." A *half-breed* interpreter co-operating with the good Apostle to the Indians, in Bible-work, in puritan Massachusetts, and before 1660!

But "the most unkindest cut of all" at the *Wunneetupanatamwee Up-Biblum* was given by a chip thrown from Max Müller's German workshop. This eminent scholar, in a paper (first published in 1862) on the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg's translation of the Quiché *Popul Vuh*,* mentions "the translation of the Bible in the Massachusetts language" as a specimen of *picture-writing*, and informs his readers that "the verses from

* Chips from a German Workshop, vol. i. (1867), p. 320. The list of symbols stands between quotation marks, but Prof. Müller does not give his authority for the statement.

25 to 32 in the thirtieth chapter of Proverbs are expressed by 'an ant, a coney, a locust, a spider, a river (symbol of motion), a lion, a greyhound, a he-goat and king, a man foolishly lifting himself to take hold of the heavens'. No doubt these symbols would help the reader to remember the proper order of the verses, but" — observes Prof. Müller, and I shall not venture to differ with him on this point, — "they would be perfectly useless without a commentary or without a previous knowledge of the text."

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